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VIII.—THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE ROMANCE
WORDS FOR “TO GO.”

In dem Abschnitt über die romanischen Sprachen welchen die “*Année linguistique*” Bd. I (1901–1902) enthält, widmet A. Dauzat auch den Etymologieen ein paar kurze und abgerissene Bemerkungen und preist dabei den “*scepticisme salubre*” den Gaston Paris in Bezug auf das Problem *aller-andare* an den Tag gelegt hat (S. 33). Dieser Skeptizismus ist keineswegs heilsam gewesen. Gegen zwei Erkenntnisse, welche, längst vorbereitet, jetzt fast Gemeingut geworden sind, hat sich G. P. bis zuletzt gestäubt und dadurch unter den Seinigen dem Aufkommen neuer phantastischer Erklärungen Vorschub geleistet. Diese Erkenntnisse sind: dass nur *ambulare* (mit oder ohne **ambitare* als Variante) das Grundwort für jene romanischen Verben sein kann, und ferner dass diese — sogar auch dann wenn für sie ein anderer Ursprung vorauszusetzen wäre — auf ganz regelmässige Weise sich nicht haben entwickeln können. Bei seiner Kritik jener Aufstellung hat G. P. Bedeutung und Gebrauchsumfang der Wörter nicht hinlänglich gewürdigt — dachte er doch selbst, auch für *aller*, an ein **addare* = *addere gradum*, und hat diesen Gedanken wohl nie ganz aufgegeben (s. z. B. Rom. XXVII, 627). Hinsichtlich des zweiten Punktes ist zu bemerken dass wir über das Wie? noch sehr verschiedene Ansichten hegen, aber keiner von uns die seinige für unwiderleglich halten dürfte. Da wir nun selbst die im Wege stehenden Schwierigkeiten nicht verkennen, so hatte es G. P. leicht jede einzelne Ansicht zu beanstanden, wobei er sich aber manch-

mal gar zu dogmatisch äusserte (ich verstehe z. B. nicht warum er Rom. XXXI, 607 das Wulffsche Δ nicht sonderbar findet, wohl aber **ambitare* neben *ambulare*, trotz lat.-rom. Verben wie *miscitare* neben *misculare*, *circitare* neben *circulare*, *tremitare* neben *tremulare*, *crepitare* neben *crepulare* u. s. w.); im Ganzen hat er hier doch nur, freilich ohne es zu wollen, die Rolle eines *advocatus diaboli* gespielt. Das Unregelmässige dessen Annahme hier unvermeidlich ist, bedeutet nicht etwas was im Widerspruch zu andern Tatsachen der Sprache stünde, sondern nur etwas was sich nicht in eine Tatsachengruppe einordnen lässt; eine Sprache deren Entwicklung keine solche Unregelmässigkeiten aufwiese, wäre das Allerunregelmässigste, sie ist geradezu undenkbar. Man verkennt gar zu leicht den gesellschaftlichen Character der Sprache; man vergegenwärtigt sich nicht hinlänglich dass auch der anscheinend einfachste sprachliche Vorgang in Wirklichkeit ein sehr verwickelter ist, und dass eine ganz geringfügige Abänderung eines seiner Faktoren genügt haben könnte um ihn nicht eintreten zu lassen. Wenn wir in der Wissenschaft immer das Einfachere suchen, so tun wir es indem wir in die Höhe streben. Es wäre aber ein Irrtum überall, auch in der Niederung, das Einfache finden zu wollen; "l'esprit simpliste n'est pas l'esprit scientifique." Es ist nicht bedeutungslos dass das ein Franzose — S. Reinach — gesagt hat, denn gerade bei den Franzosen ist der simplistische Geist sehr verbreitet. Er entstammt einer Tugend, dem Drang nach Klarheit und Bestimmtheit; "das tut man" oder "das tut man nicht," damit haben die Franzosen bei sich und auch bei andern Völkern erzieherisch gewirkt. Sobald wir aber die Schwelle der reinen Erkenntnis überschreiten, dürfen wir uns über die Dinge nicht bestimmter äussern als sie selbst es gestatten, sie nicht klarer sehen wollen als sie es sind. Aber wir dürfen auch nicht zu wenig tun. Wenn Dauzat sagt dass das *aller-andare*-Problem dank G. P. "intacte" bleibe, so ist das nicht richtig; wir werden vielleicht vergeblich auf eine Überraschung warten wie sie uns die Trümmerfelder des Morgenlandes nicht selten bescheren, und es wird uns somit vielleicht eine vollständige Lösung des Problems versagt bleiben (sicherlich eine welche "s'impose"; s. Rom. a. a. O.), aber eine halbe Lösung haben wir doch erreicht. Wenn der Maler uns eine Landschaft im nächtlichen Dunkel, in der Morgendämmerung, im Tagesschatten, im hellen Sonnenschein darstellen kann, so auch der Gelehrte irgend eine wissenschaftliche Frage — und sei es die nach dem Ursprung der Sprache — in demjenigen Stadium in dem sie sich gerade befindet. (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 1904, pp. 52 f.)

This important discussion, from Schuchardt's pen, is quoted at some length here for the purpose of indicating

with precision the status of the so-called *ambulare* question. It may be said at once that the writer of the present article belongs to the small group of phonologists still living who are not yet fully convinced that *aller* and *andare* must be derived from *ambulare*, and that the phonetic development of these verbs must necessarily have been irregular. The forms assuredly do appear to contain the same stem; but the precise character of this stem is an important matter which, in the opinion of the writer, still requires considerable elucidation. From the favorable reception accorded by Rydberg¹ to E. Bovet's recent monogenetic achievement bearing the title *Ancora il problema andare*, one might infer that, after the numerous discussions of the stem of *andare*, this scholar had really made interesting progress. On reading the account of his theory presented on pages 152 ff. of G. Stucke's dissertation entitled *Französisch aller und seine romanischen Verwandten*, we are very much disappointed. It turns out that in order to develop the Romance forms neatly from *ambulare*, Bovet introduces a new application of the well-known and still unexplained symbol Δ , which disposes of two or three refractory letters in a wonderfully mystifying fashion. Now, if a competent etymologist finds it necessary to contrive phonology of this mediocre type in order to bolster the claims of *ambulare*, is it not time to pause and ask whether, after all, *ambulare* is precisely the word we are all looking for? The Δ hypothesis was, to be sure, a useful and original invention in its time; but

¹ *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der rom. Phil.*, VI. (1903), I, p. 292. "Eine vortreffliche Übersicht über die in älterer Zeit wie von späteren Forschern gemachten Vorschläge zur Erklärung der Entwicklung [von *aller* etc.] enthält E. Bovet's Arbeit *Ancora il problema andare*, die dem Ref. geeignet erscheint die Überzeugung zu befestigen, dass einzig und allein *ambulare* die Grundform zu *aller*, *andar* etc. sein kann."

Schuchardt has intimated more than once that it cannot be justly pronounced a whit more probable than any of the dozen other *ambulare* schemes. If it really were perfectly clear that *ambulare* presents the only possible starting-point for the development of the Romance verbs, a new application of the Δ theory or any other good *ambulare* theory would certainly be most welcome. But let us consider the evidence by which the unique character of this etymon has been established. In the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* for 1902, pp. 393 f., Schuchardt writes as follows: —

In ähnlicher Weise ist Thomas an die *ambulare*-Masse herangetreten. Er sagt [*Mélanges étymologiques*, s. v. *anar*] dass alle diejenigen welche sich bemühen *aller*, *andare* u. s. w. auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurückzuführen, ihre Ohren den Lehren der Phonetik verschliessen, welche uns zurufe: "Jedes für sich!" Das ist ein etwas husarenmässiges Divide et impera. Ich weiss nicht wie die Polygenetiker sich die Sache vorstellen. Etwa in folgender Weise? Die Romanen, oder wenn man will, die Römer, hatten ein Verb *ambulare* von stattlicher, dauerhafter Leibesbeschaffenheit. Im Laufe der Jahrhunderte brauchten sie es beim Lateinschreiben mehr und mehr; dafür kam es in der Umgangssprache mehr und mehr ab und starb endlich aus. Zum Ersatz zog man aus den verstecktesten Winkeln des Sprachschatzes Verben hervor deren Bedeutung von der des Gehens mehr oder weniger entfernt war, und zwar wählte jede Hauptprovinz ein anderes Verb; nur hatten sie vorher untereinander ausgemacht dass es ein Verb auf *are* sein, dass es auf *a* anlauten, und dass darauf ein *l* oder *n* folgen müsste, offenbar in der Absicht die Gelehrten des 19. und 20. Jhts. auf den thörichten Gedanken zu bringen dass es sich um Fortsetzungen von *ambulare* handle. Im Ernste brauche ich hier die monogenetische Ansicht nicht zu verteidigen; das ist zum so und so vielen Male und in besonders nachdrücklicher Weise von E. Bovet in dem mir soeben zugesandten Aufsätze "*Ancora il problema andare*" geschehen. Im Einzelnen wird man sich wohl nicht sofort einigen. So muss ich gestehen dass wie sehr ich auch F. Wulff als Phonetiker schätze, seine lautgeschichtliche Entwicklung von *ambulare* mir ganz unwahrscheinlich ist; ja, da er selbst auf jede Begründung verzichtet, so verstehe ich nicht einmal wie wir uns das allerortige Einspringen des Tausendkünstlers Δ für *l* zu denken haben. Ich war sehr überrascht als ich die Anmerkung von G. Paris dazu las, in der er dem Wulffschen Stamm-

baum den Preis zuerkennt; vielleicht hat ihn gerade die dogmatische Kürze bestochen. Man sollte meinen dass die Annahme einer Suffixvertauschung bei *ambulare*, wie eine vermittelnde Ansicht, den Polygenetikern noch am ehesten zusagen würde; was Bovet dagegen vorbringt, scheint mir nicht schwer ins Gewicht zu fallen, darüber wird noch bei andern Gelegenheiten zu reden sein. Thomas bekümmert sich nach dem von ihm ausgesprochenen Grundsatz nicht um die andern romanischen Verben, sondern nur um prov. *anar*. Man glaubte schon längst die Pandorabüchse geleert, bis auf die trügerische Hoffnung, und immer neue Etymologien entflattern ihr jetzt. *Anar* soll auf *annare*, "das Jahr durchleben" zurückgehen, das in einer altlateinischen Gebetformel bezeugt wird. Das prov. *desanar* wird nicht falsch, aber doch willkürlich mit "cesser de vivre" übersetzt, um daraus ein *anar* mit der Bedeutung "leben" abzuziehen; es ist nichts Anderes als *abire*, *exire*, *decedere*, *discedere*, *excedere*, *egredi* (meist auch ohne *de* oder *e vita*), (mit dem Tode) abgehen u. s. w. . . . Nun hoffe ich aber dass Thomas wenigstens konsequent sein und wie *anar* auf *annare*, so auch *aller* auf **allare* oder **alare* (ich empfehle das port. *alar*, das auch "flattern" bedeutet, hierbei zur Berücksichtigung) zurückführen wird, da ja nur diese beiden Formen den Ansprüchen der Phonetik, wie er sie gelten lässt, genügen.

This spirited criticism of the polygenetic theory is, I believe, thoroughly sound, as a mere defense of monogenesis; but it certainly does not seem to follow that *aller*, *anar* and *andare* are necessarily derived somehow from *ambulare*. I believe that Schuchardt and other authorities who impatiently insist that this word is unquestionably the right etymon, go a step too far, overlooking various other possibilities which should be considered. They apparently leave out of account, for instance, other etyma already discovered, of which there is a plentiful supply. Stucke estimates that there were already thirty-odd on hand — Latin, Greek, Germanic, Celtic, Arabic and Sanskrit — when he was writing page 15 of his dissertation (*i. e.*, probably about January, 1902). Passing over more recent finds, for the sake of argument, I should like to ask whether all these specimens, some of which ought to be good etyma, must be rejected without more ado because

the Romans had a verb in *are* meaning "to walk," a word of majestic, durable form, beginning with *a* and containing an *l*. In the famous plea for monogenesis, Schuchardt also appeals to an *n*; but we do not find this important letter in *ambulare*. Under these circumstances, is it not admissible to agree with Stucke (p. VI), who believes that the etymology of the Romance words for "to go" is still enveloped in a certain obscurity (*ein gewisses Dunkel*)?

It has been said that Istrian *āmna* and Rhaetian *amna* go back to Latin **amminare*, a form to be derived (in an unprecedented manner) from **ammulare*, which should somehow stand for *ambulare*, because, for some obscure reason, it ought not to be separated from Roumanian *umbla* "to walk," which is certainly derived from the popular etymon. The phonological difficulties presented by this etymology are obvious, and have of course already been noticed. Other solutions of the problem have been presented, but the obscurities remain. It is no wonder that none of the various lines between *ambulare* and **amminare* has become popular: there is no safe route. The forms represent different Latin words. If the Romance words do go back to **amminare*, as is often assumed (and do not presuppose a type **aminare*), this word is none other than Latin **adminare*, "to drive to," the existence of which is rendered certain by French *amener*, "to bring." The semantic series (1) "to drive to," "to chase to," *zujagen* (transitive), (2) "to chase to," *zujagen* (intransitive), "to go hastily to," (3) "to go to," (4) "to go," presents no difficulty. It has never been demonstrated in a clear and simple manner that Latin verbs must have a remarkable phonetic history as soon as they develop the meaning "to go." It has never been proved, for instance, that Rhætian *ma*, which Diez identifies with *meare*, "to go," is or can be the same word as Rhætian *ala*, *la*, which

are so often connected in an extremely irregular manner with *ambulare*. Rhætian *na*, beside *anna*, should be identified with Provençal *anar* rather than with Rhætian *amna*, for the reason that a reduction of the group *mmn* to *n* seems to be unparalleled. Rhætian *ala* and *la* are clearly identical with French *aller*; but if we could consult Paris concerning the history of this word, we should be informed once more that although apparently containing the same stem as Provençal *anar*, Spanish *andar*, Portuguese *andar*, Italian *andare*, it has nothing to do with *ambulare*.

Turning to the important group comprising the French, Provençal, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian forms, let us now consider the claims of one of the numerous unpopular etyma, namely *adnare*, "to swim to." This word was first suggested by Muratori in 1739, and has been more or less favored since by Brachet, Canello, Diez, Littré, and Stucke¹. In the new edition of Körting it heads a list of etyma said to be antiquated by recent investigation. I assume that there existed in later Latin two regular derivatives of *adnare*, namely a frequentative **annitare* and a diminutive **annulare*. Both these forms came into existence after *adnare* had become *annare*. The latter form was felt as a simple verb, for the reason that *nare* had gone out of use. **Annitare* seems to represent a regularization — *i. e.*, an attraction to the regular frequentative type *-itare* — of the attested frequentative *annatare*, rather than a regular new

¹ Cf. Stucke, pp. 79-88. I find that Stucke, whose book (Darmstadt, 1902) came as this article was undergoing a final revision, suggested the following combination (p. 148): *anar* < *adnare*; *aller* < *adnare* by dissimilation in the phrase *en anar*; *andare* < **ambitare*, a type formed from *ambire*, "to go round," or assumed instead of *ambulare*. It is well known that the formation of **ambitare* from *ambulare* has never been paralleled: **miscitare*, *crepitare*, etc., are from *miscere*, *crepare*, etc., — not from the corresponding verbs in *-ulare*.

formation from *annare*. It is well known that the endings *-itare* and *-ulare* were living verbal suffixes in later Latin; on this point I refer to Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. Gramm.* II., pp. 611-613. To the examples presenting the termination *-ulare* we may add **brandulare*, "to brandish," from **brandare* (**brandire*), the former giving French *branler*,¹ the latter Provençal *brandar* (Old French *brandir*). The fact that **brandulare* contains a stem of Germanic origin is of obvious chronological significance.

Intervocalic *t* becomes *d* in Spain and Portugal, and may become *d* in Italy. The pretonic vowel of **annitare* > *andare* and that of **vanitare* > *vantare*, "to boast," naturally dropped at different dates; the same phenomenon is attested by Provençal *vandá* < **vannitare*, "to winnow," beside *vantá* < **vanitare*. The Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian development clearly presents no irregularity. Provençal *anar* < *annare* calls for no remark. In French territory we have the series **annulare* > **annlare* > **anlare* > **allare* > *alare* > *aler*, which likewise presents no phonetic irregularity. In Schwan-Behrens' *Altfranzösische Grammatik* (4th ed.), § 186, we are told that French words showing a development of *nl* into *ndl* are not found. The *Dictionnaire général* (I., p. 158, § 484) sets up a sound-law *nl* > *ngl*. The only example given, however, is *espingle*, "pin," said to be from *spinula*, "little thorn." This rather obscure word is derived by Ascoli from **spicula*, "little pin," and by Paris from **sphingula*, "little sphinx." The variant *espille* may certainly go back to Ascoli's etymon. If *spinula* is the right etymon for *espingle*, the divergence shown by the treatment of *n* + vowel + *l* after the accent, and that of *nn* + vowel + *l* before the accent in proparoxytones, may be attributed to the operation of Neumann's

¹ This word has hitherto been explained in various irregular ways.

chronological law. An analogical explanation of the form of *espingle* < *spinula* has been suggested by Gröber, *Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gramm.*, V., p. 476; cf. Schwan-Behrens, *l. c.* It should of course be observed, moreover, that the phonetic groups *nl* and *nnl* are not identical.

I now notice in Stucke's treatise (pp. 81-86) a methodical consideration of the vague objections which have been advanced against the semantic development "to swim to," "to go." Stucke finds that the objections will not hold, notes Roumanian *merg*, "to go," from Latin *mergere*, "to plunge" (transitive), and concludes that the shift can by no means be considered impossible. It seems to me that this conclusion is admissible. What fatal objection can be raised, for instance, against the semantic series (1) "to swim to," (2)¹ "to sail to," (3) "to get to," "to go or come to," (4) "to go or come," (5) "to go"? The first step is justified by the existence of Russian *plyt'*, "to swim," "to sail." The passage from (2) to (3) is closely paralleled by the English "to sail into a room," and other similar expressions, in which the proper meaning of the verb "to sail" is often not distinctly felt. The step from (3) to (4), like that from (4) to (5), consists in a simple elimination. We may note in support of (3) and (4) Russian *idti*, Greek *ἐρχομαι*, both meaning "to go or come." These parallels certainly show that the series is perfectly legitimate and natural, and, in view of the regularity of the phonetic development, may perhaps seem to make the etymology probable enough. A question of chronological importance, however, should still be considered here. How ancient are the later stages "to sail to," "to get to," "to go or come," "to go"?

¹ Professor J. Goebel cites in support of the shorter series "to swim to," "to go to," "to go" the figurative use of German *hereinsegeln*, *absegeln* — bold expressions for "to come in," "to go off."

Attention has already been called to eighth century glosses like *transgredere* = *ultra alare*, *transfretavit* = *trans alaret*, which show that at this late date the original meaning had disappeared. Looking about for earlier evidence, we notice the following passage from Probus, *i. e.* probably Sacerdos, who belongs to the end of the third century (Keil IV., 185, 9):—

Quæritur qua de causa *adno* et non *adnao* dicatur. Hac de causa, quoniam verba primæ coniugationis indicativo modo specie imperfecta ex tertia persona numeri pluralis ultimam syllabam omittunt et *a* sequentem in *o* litteram convertunt et primam personam numeri singularis modi supra dicti ostendunt, ut puta *probabant probo*. Nunc cum dicat Vergilius '*adnabant pariter*' utique iam *adno* non *adnao* facere pronuntiavit.

With this we may compare other queries of the same sort put by this author; *e. g.*, the following:—

182,21: Quæritur qua de causa *calcavi* et non *calcai*¹ dicatur. — 182,21: Quæritur qua de causa *coquo* et non *coco* dicatur. — 182,28: Quæritur qua de causa Vergilius *fugite* correpte pronuntiarit. — 182,38: Quæritur qua de causa *ridere* producto accentu pronuntietur. — 185,20: Quæritur qua de causa *fugere* et non *fugire* dicatur.

The form *adnao* and the warning concerning its use recall at once **dao*, **stao*, which were doubtless current in the second and third centuries, and which may be much more ancient. The age of **fao* (> Provençal *fau*) is hard to estimate; but **nao* seems to be a lineal descendant of the prehistoric form **snayo*, on which see Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 476. So also probably **stao* < *stáyo* (the prehistoric form of *sto*). The classic forms *no*, *sto* are of later origin, and are modeled after the common type **pró-*

¹ Italian *calcai*, "I trod." The word has also come down into Roumanian, Spanish, Portuguese, Provençal and French. Cf. Körting s. v. *calco*. The ending *ai* for *avi* was the regular vulgar form.

bayo > *probo*. The form **vao* is due to the analogy of *annao*, which it replaced in the Gallic Latin conjugation. Probus' rule clearly shows that *adnare* was a common vulgar word in his time. This, however, at first seems surprising when we remember that the simple verb *nare* had apparently gone out of popular use as early as the classical period. To make the latter point clear, we consult the dictionary (Lewis and Short) and find that *nare*, which is rare even in poets, is cited only twice from prose writers, once from Gellius and once from Columella; and that in the prose passages referred to we have before us an adjectival use of the participle *nans*, "floating" (*nantes scaphae*) and a substantival use of the same participle in the sense of "swimming fowls" (*nantes*). It thus certainly seems that *nare*, which did not survive in Romance, had been replaced before the classical period by the frequentative *natare*, which is quite common in both prose and poetry. Why, then, did *adnare* remain in popular use as late as the third century? It appears that, as early as the first century B. C., the compound must have acquired a meaning approaching that of "to go," which caused it to survive, while *nare* was replaced.

Driven by this striking evidence into a still more ancient period, we consult the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, and now discover that, sure enough, our etymon means in classic Latin not merely "to swim to," "to sail to," but also "to get to." The definition reads thus: "*adnare*, nando accedere ad aliquid; de animantibus; de navibus et iis quae portant." The meaning "to swim to" is attested in good prose writers, *e. g.*, in Caesar, *B. C.* 2, 44. The examples presenting the sense "to sail to" are as follows:—

Verg., *Aen.* 1,538: huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris (glossed with the words *adnavigavimus*, *adnatavimus*); 4,613: Si tangere portus Infandum

caput ac terris adnare necesse est.—Ovid, *Trist.* 3, 12, 31: incipient aliquae tamen huc adnare carinae. — Sil. 14, 354: adnabat . . . classis subsidio.

The passages certainly seem to show that the acceptation “to sail to” was distinctly poetic in the first century B. C. In the first two passages, the translation “to come to” may seem more accurate; but the context appears to indicate that the notion of “sailing” was clearly present. Forcellini gives a late example of *adnare* used in this sense, which, he says, is equivalent to that of *adnavigare*, from the Auctor *Hist. Datian.*, 13: —

Urbis, quam adnavimus exploratum, materies.

A more important passage is from Cicero, *De Republica* II, 4 (9): —

Sed tamen in his [maritimarum urbium] vitiis inest illa magna commoditas, et quod ubique genitum est [frumentum, merces] ut ad eam urbem, quam incolas, possit *adnare*, et rursus ut id, quod agri efferant sui, quascumque velint in terras portare possint ac mittere.

The explanatory words *frumentum*, *merces* are added by the editors of the *Thesaurus*. What is the precise force of the word *adnare* as used here? We have, to be sure, a watery context. But can produce swim? Does merchandise sail, and that in precise and sober Latin prose? Turning to Lewis and Short, we are told that *adnare* in this Ciceronian passage means “to come to,” “to approach.” Perhaps we should not hastily accept the verdict of Latin lexicographers when in doubt as to the meaning of Latin words. As a matter of fact we find that Lewis and Short quote the older reading *gentium* for *genitum*, and seem to be ignorant of the meaning “to sail to.” What are we to say, however, of the following? —

Cicero, *Tusc.* 4, 14, 33: Habes ea quæ de perturbationibus enucleate disputant Stoici quæ λογικά appellant, quia disseruntur subtilius. Ex quibus quoniam tanquam e scrupulosis cotibus *enavigavit oratio*, reliquæ disputationis cursum teneamus.—*Tusc.* 5, 30, 87: Eadem Calpiontis erit Diodorice sententia, quoniam uterque honestatem sic complectitur, ut omnia, quæ sine ea sint, longe retro ponenda censeat. Reliqui habere se angustius videntur; *enatant* tamen.—*Imp. Pomp.* 12, 24: Quis enim umquam aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quæstus studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn. Pompeio duce *belli impetus navigavit*?—Petronius *Satir.* 57, 29 (ed. Bücheler, 1882): Habebam *in domo* qui mihi pedem opponerent hac illac; tamen—*enatavi*.—Florus 2, 2, 17: Regulo duce, iam in Africam *navigabat bellum*.—2, 8, 1: Macedoniam Asia statim et regem Philippum Antiochus excepit quodam casu, quasi de industria sic adgubernante fortuna, ut quem ad modum ab Africa in Achaïam, sic ab Achaïa in Asiam ultro se suggerentibus causis imperium procederet, et cum terrarum orbis situ ipse *ordo victoriarum navigaret*.—Sil. III, 662: *Has observatis valles enavimus astris*.

Lewis and Short say that *enare* in the last passage means "to sail through." If this is right, the sailing is evidently figurative. The force of Latin poetic figures is often hard to estimate, and the passage, which was noted by Brachet, may not by itself establish much. The significance of the quotations in prose, however, two of which have already been cited by Cornu in support of the etymon *enatare*, is unmistakable. It has already been noticed by lexicographers, and is certainly obvious, that philosophers do not swim out of arguments, that a Ciceronian discussion does not sail out of difficulties, and that a war movement does not sail. The passages clearly establish for the classical period a time-worn metaphor, which had been handed down by oral tradition in the words *enatare*, *enavigare*, "to get out" and *navigare*, "to go or come," as well as in *adnatare* and *adnare*, "to get to." After all, we have no reason to be surprised at the venerable look of the figure. The chronology of *nare* alone indicates that we must assign to some prehistoric age

the very stage of our series which, at first blush, we might assume to be almost modern, namely the figurative sense "to go or come to." Indeed we now recall Greek *νόμαι*, "to go," beside *νέω*, "to swim," **"to sail,"* which might lead one to assign this stage to a Graeco-Italic period. But words of similar meaning should never be hastily identified if the phonetic connection seems obscure. In this very instance, the existence of *νίσσομαι*, "to go," raises a doubt regarding the prehistoric form of *νόμαι*, making the connection of the latter word with *νέω* appear dubious. At any rate, we have located the origin of the Romance sense in a prehistoric Latin age. We may now indicate how and why the changes in meaning occurred.

In some remote prehistoric period, certainly many thousand years ago, something like a ship was invented. The invention was called apparently a "swimmer" (*ναῦς*, *navis*), for the reason that it was said to "swim," i. e., to sail (*νεῖω*, *nare*). On this connection, see Vaniček, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, pp. 1158 ff. For thousands of years *nare* was a common word meaning both "to swim" and "to sail." In fact, we find it still used in both senses, not to mention that of "to fly," by poets of the classical period. At this date, however, it had grown rare and bookish. It had been replaced in the speech of the people by the Ciceronian frequentative *natare*, "to swim," and the secondary formation *nav-ig-are*, "to sail." The words for "to sail" readily assume figurative senses in all languages, and prehistoric Latin was not an exception to the rule. Hundreds of years before the opening of the Christian era, *nare* began to be used to describe the motion of persons on land. At first the usage was felt as a figure of speech, like the humorous English "to navigate," and later as a bold expression, like the English "to sail down the street."

The compound *enare* was used in the same way, with

the same picturesque connotation, whence later both *enavigare* and *enatare*, "to get out"; and likewise *adnare*, whence later *adnatare* and doubtless *adnavigare*, "to get to." In the course of centuries the compounds *adnare*, *adnatare* became more and more common in the new figurative sense, and more and more rare in the earlier meanings. The picturesque connotation grew fainter and fainter in proportion, until finally it was lost and forgotten. To the uneducated Roman of Caesar's day, *adnare* meant scarcely more than "to get to": his words for "to swim to," "to sail to" were *adnatare*, *adnavigare* and *natare ad*, *navigare ad*. Prose writers of the classical period doubtless tried to avoid the improper sense of *adnare* in dignified composition, although they had no objection to the somewhat antiquated meaning "to swim to"; while poets admitted the archaic sense "to sail to." The fact that *adnatare*, * "to get to," is not attested in familiar passages, as is *enatare*, "to get out," is purely accidental. After the phonetic development of *adnare* into *annare*, which doubtless belongs to an early post-classical period, the compound nature of the word was no longer recognizable, and the meaning "to go or come to" naturally became "to go or come" — a stage attested by Papias' well-known gloss: *adnare*, *adnatare* = *venire*. The primary meaning of *adnatare* was felt for some time after that of *adnare* was forgotten, for the reason that *natare* (beside **notare*), "to swim," remained in vulgar use. In later Latin, however, *annatare*, "to swim to" was completely replaced by *natare ad*, and this replacement brought about the loss of the connotation in *annatare*, "to go or come (to)," after which the regularized form **annitare* beside **annulare* (< *annare*) came into use. Schuchardt (*Rom.* XVII., p. 418) has pointed out that the boundary line between the territories of the verbs "to go" and "to

come" is vague: *allons, allez, andiamo, andate* may still often be translated as "come!" *Aller* may have had the meaning "to come" oftener in Old French than it has at present; cf. Froissart, Bartsch-Horning *Chrestomathie* (7th ed.), col. 434, ll. 31 ff.: —

Adont lui ala il souvenir de Phelippe d'Artevelle, e dist a ceulx qui entour lui estoient, "Ce Phelippe, si il est ou vif ou mort, je le verroie moult voulontiers."

The almost complete exclusion of the notion "to come" may be attributed to the influence of *vado, vadis, vadit, vade, vadunt*, from *vadere*, "to go," which replaced the corresponding forms of *adnare* in the Romance conjugation.

The principal new points brought out in this paper may be summed up as follows. In the first place, we have called attention to the fact that the derivation of the Romance group from *adnare*, "to swim to" presents no phonetic irregularity. We have set up a simple semantic series, which is proved by parallels to be legitimate and natural. Reference to the Latin dictionary has shown that the assumed sense-development is not even hypothetical. We have found the stages "to sail to," "to go or come to," attested in classic Latin, and the latter use confirmed by the analogous sense of *enatare, enavigare, navigare, enare*. We have called attention to the replacement of *nare* by *natare* and *navigare*, and of *adnatare*, "to swim to," by *natare ad*, which caused the primary meanings of *adnare* and *adnatare* to fall gradually into oblivion. We have proved by a quotation from Probus that *adnare* actually remained vulgar in later Latin. We have pointed out that after the phonetic development of *adn* into *ann*, *adnare, adnatare*, "to go or come to" would naturally have meant "to go or come." Indeed we find even this

stage attested in Latin. In short, we have not only shown that the assumed changes in meaning did occur, but have also been able to indicate when, how, and why they occurred. Perhaps the derivation of *anar*, *andare*, *andar*, *aller*, "to go," from Latin *annare*, **annitare*, **annulare*, "to go or come," will now seem plausible.¹

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¹ Table of derivations:—

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|--------------------------------|---|---|
| Roumanian <i>îmbia</i> | } "to walk," | <i>ambulare</i> , "to walk." |
| Roumanian <i>umbia</i> | | |
| Roumanian <i>merg</i> | | <i>mergere</i> , "to plunge" (trans.). |
| Western Roumanian <i>îmna</i> | } * <i>amminare</i> , * "to go" < | * <i>adminare</i> , "to chase to," "to drive to." |
| Macedo-Roumanian <i>imnare</i> | | |
| Istrian <i>amna</i> | | |
| Rhætian <i>amna</i> | | |
| Rhætian <i>ma</i> | | <i>meare</i> , "to go." |
| French <i>aller</i> | } * <i>annulare</i> , < <i>annare</i> , "to < | <i>adnare</i> , "to get to," "to sail |
| Rhætian <i>ala, la</i> | | |
| Rhætian <i>anna, na</i> | } <i>annare</i> , "to go or come" < | <i>adnare</i> , "to get to," "to sail |
| Provençal <i>anar</i> | | |
| Italian <i>andare</i> | } * <i>annitare</i> , "to go or come" | < <i>annatare</i> , < <i>adnatare</i> , * "to get to," "to swim to" (cf. <i>enatare</i> , "to get out," "to swim out") < <i>adnare</i> , "to get to," "to sail to," "to swim to." < <i>annare</i> , "to go or come" < <i>adnare</i> , "to get to" "to sail to," "to swim to." |
| Spanish <i>andar</i> | | |
| Portuguese <i>andar</i> | | |
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